THE NEW REPUBLIC

Our Russian Policy

Louis J. Halle

The Vanishing Newscast

Saul E. Halpert

Quotation–Mongering

Abraham Brumberg

In the Congo

The Editors

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T.R.B. *from Washington*

Indistinguishable Two Parties?

★ A young, attractive, brown-haired man dressed in a conservative, pinstripe business suit came on the Senate floor the other evening and introduced a bill (subsequently modified and passed by the Senate) to raise the Federal minimum wage from its present dollar to a dollar-and-a-quarter an hour, and to extend its coverage by 5 million. The young man was, of course, Kennedy. The circumstances were unusual. It was a moment of potentially high drama; the conventions were over, the Democrats had adopted their remarkable radical program, and now Kennedy was moving to implement it. Instead of histrionics, however, Kennedy spoke with an almost conscious understatement. It was a quiet, concise, matter-of-fact, extemporaneous, presentment – almost unpolitical, extremely effective, rather unemotional, and directed simply to the needs of the non-unionized, underprivileged forgotten men and women – primarily workers in the big chains.

It would have been a good thing if those who profess to see no difference between Kennedy and Nixon could have been on hand. For in this bill and in the others officially advocated by the northern Democrats: health aid for the aged, housing, education and the like, is one of the sharpest political cleavages in generations. In their approach to the role of the Federal government, the Republicans are the party of contraction, the Democrats of expansion. For nearly eight years the Eisenhower policy of Federal diminution, restriction and withdrawal has gone on. The public sector of education, urban needs, foreign aid and even defense has been starved while the private sector has been bloated. It is too early to know whether the Eisenhower episode is a disaster or merely an interlude. Nixon will move away from the Eisenhower extreme to some degree, but at heart the philosophy of government of Kennedy and Nixon are, we believe, deeply opposed.

From first hand campaigning, with Adlai Stevenson in 1952 and 1956, and again with Kennedy in his primary battles this year, this writer's personal judgment is that Kennedy is way to the left of Stevenson. We have no doubt that this will show itself in the campaign, which will have its real start after Labor Day. Who will win we have no idea. The first Gallup poll shows Nixon ahead, but we don't put much stock in it. It is too early and there are too many uncertainties. The election could be decided by half a dozen extraneous matters – religion, distrust of Nixon, what Khrushchev does, some slip of the tongue in the spectacular TV joint Kennedy-Nixon discussions (which now seem next to certain and should attract the largest television audience in history.)

If people don't like Kennedy or his religion, if they are sore because Adlai Stevenson or Hubert Humphrey didn't get the nomination, if they are affected by a thousand and one reasons and foibles, let them vote for Nixon or stay home; but to say that there is "no difference" in outlook between Kennedy and Nixon is simple folly.

There was something attractive in the lack of heroics of Kennedy in presenting his wage bill. He was not trying to make a gallery splash, the galleries were all but empty. On the other hand it remains to be seen whether Kennedy has the gift which is now most wanting, the capacity which an American president must have – to dramatize and emotionalize great issues, to stir men's hearts. The American people today want, we firmly believe, to have great demands made upon them. They are willing to make sacrifices, they are tired of tranquility pills; they want leadership. Kennedy has an appeal that gave him victory in seven primaries; his money helped but what he said and did counted more. Now the larger question comes. Under the guidance of former party chairman Paul Butler, the Democrats have their most progressive commitment in history and Kennedy subscribes to it. The liberal brain-trust that he has been assembling reveals his thinking. But does Kennedy have the authority, stature – above all the *passion* necessary for the task? If he does, even though he is up against a formidable opponent, we think he may win.

History's Verdict on Ike

★ Almost all the books on the Eisenhower administration so far have been written by friends, and yet they forecast the judgment of history. On the economic side there is *NYTimes*man Edwin Dale's *The Conservatives in Power: A Study in Frustration.* After giving the Administration the benefit of most of the doubts Dale's balance sheet of recessions, and lack of growth and deficits, including the biggest one in peacetime history, amounts to an indictment. Now comes one on the foreign side, a study of John Foster Dulles: *Duel at the Brink,* by Roscoe Drummond and Gaston Coblentz. Eisenhower thought Dulles "the greatest secretary of state in history." The authors are sympathetic, too, but also honest. On balance what is the result? All those fancy grandiose phrases, "massive retaliation," "liberation," and "rollback," all that religiosity and constant appeal to the Deity – the authors have to tell the facts and these show a strengthened Soviet Union and confused Western Allies, a static policy in China and the foundations of a program that ultimately led to the Summit collapse.

Now comes Cuba. We are told every day that we can't let an alien philosophy find a home so near the United States. Very likely. But an analogy is in order. Cuba is 730 miles long, 20 to 90 miles wide with a population of 6,500,000 and 96 miles from Florida. Now consider Formosa. It is 240 miles long, has a population of 10,000,000 and lies 11 miles off the mainland of Red China. We can't abide the thought of Cuba going Communist; doesn't that help give us an idea of the way Red China feels about Capitalist Quemoy and Matsu and Formosa?

This column hasn't much use for Fidel Castro. But we read the other day that 400 of the 700 priests in Cuba are Spanish-born. In a country in which religion plays such a dominant part this might be reasonably irritating.

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In the Congo

The harsh public attack of Major General Alexander on Dag Hammarskjold's equivocations in the Congo, combined with the unexpected moderation of Congolese Vice-Premier Antoine Gizenga's presentation at the Security Council session last Sunday, offer new warning to those foolhardy enough to predict what lies ahead. In General Alexander's situation – that of a white, British chief of a black Ghanaian army – there were obvious personal as well as professional advantages in making his criticisms of the organization of the military command in a public rather than in a private memorandum. He is now clearly identified with Ghana, with Africa, and with military rather than political objectives. Mr. Gizenga's presentation, on the other hand, seemed to register a subtle reminder that Premier Lumumba's recent excesses have been primarily for local consumption and should be strained through a wide-meshed sieve by the outside world.

Mr. Lumumba, who is fully aware that a score of his political enemies are in almost constant session plotting his overthrow, is working against time. His political task is to whip the people of the Congo into national consciousness and establish himself as the indispensable father-figure whom public opinion renders untouchable. It must be remembered that his *Mouvement National Congolais* party won only 33 out of the 137 seats in the Chamber of Representatives in the May elections, and he was little-known as a personality outside his own stronghold of Orientale Province when he became head of government. He gained the premiership by an elaborate system of alliances with local parties of strikingly varied views, masterfully consummated. By his audacity and derring-do, he has kept the limelight entirely on himself for a solid month and has long since put every competing personality in the shadows, though not necessarily for good, or forever.

To do this, he has used the tried and true technique of nationalist agitators the world around: he is creating the illusion that the Belgians are engaged in a monstrous plot to reconquer the country, and that he is the mounted savior who is going to stave them off. While this is a decidedly dangerous game, requiring a good deal of racist demogoguery which has already cost him the sympathy of the UN force in the Congo as well as the world press and could lead to even greater disasters, it is based on sound, if openly opportunistic, political judgment, for unless he establishes himself as *the* national leader, Mr. Lumumba's political career will come to a swift end. But there is no

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doubt that Lumumba is now a household word in the Congo for the first time, and that he has steadily widened the base of his popular support in recent weeks. He has established the momentum of which personal political success is made, and each time his charisma seems to be fading, he sets off a new fireworks display over a new injustice.

Few serious observers go along with the Belgian accusation that Lumumba is a Communist. There are apparently Communists and/or Communist sympathizers in his government, and the unique kind of African Marxism typified by Guinea is strongly at work in his administration, but, as Thomas Brady wrote in *The New York Times* (August 21), Lumumba himself "is a lonely, headstrong, emotional young man whose pan-African neutralism appears to be as sincere as it is angrily immoderate." Or, as one of his colleagues said wearily the other day, "You must understand that Lumumba is a very thoughtful man. The trouble is that he usually speaks before he thinks."

Elsewhere in Africa – Nkrumah, Toure, and Bourghiba come to mind – the national movement had been painfully forged, the leader's skills honed and his position unquestionably confirmed in open competition with his peers long before independence came. They could then afford to be "responsible," which Mr. Lumumba cannot for some time. Thus, the Congolese Premier, who possesses many leadership qualities but lacks either theoretical or practical training in administration, is now trying to telescope three revolutions into one. The task he has set for himself is rendered even more difficult because he is dedicated to a complex political philosophy which calls for a high degree of centralization of authority in his own inexperienced hands. Looking enviously across Africa at the solidified, centralized entities of Ghana, Guinea, and Tunisia, he becomes almost psychotically impatient with Tshombe's Katanga and other impediments to his pan-Congo and eventually pan-African dream.

The United Nations, if it is going to accomplish anything in the Congo, will not try to influence the Premier by stiff diplomatic memoranda or raps on the knuckles, for his whole political future – which could, of course, end at any moment if his increasingly desperate political enemies get a gun in his back – depends upon keeping the country aroused to imminent danger. And some further ghastly cases of mistaken identity are bound to be made, as the search for the Belgian bogeyman continues.

The present policy of the United States toward the Congo would appear to be sensitively framed and expressed. By working primarily through the other African republics and the multilateral channels of the UN, the US stands a much better chance of affecting the situation constructively than if it tried to place pressures directly on the Congolese government.

Campaigning in Congress

The natural law of American politics which says that service in the Senate does not make Presidents is unhappily being applied all over again by the reluctant involvement of Senator Kennedy in the special session. His reputation as an effective politician – a doer – is impaired by the fact that in the Senate he is condemned to being one among 100, and not the greatest among them, either. A curious reverse parallel between him and the Vice President has been set up. Just as Mr. Nixon, in his role as Republican nominee, has the problem of getting out from under President Eisenhower at least part way, Mr. Kennedy is under the necessity of getting out from under Lyndon Johnson, who as Senate majority leader and candidate for the nomination, caused the special session to be arranged.

Consider what Mr. Kennedy is up against. There is no way in which he can, as we have learned to say, "project his image" from his place in the back row. There is not even anyone he can properly duel with. In the Senate chamber, when he is there at all, Vice President Nixon is up on the rostrum, not mixing it up with Mr. Kennedy on the floor. Mr. Kennedy finds himself in a position he would have wanted at all costs to avoid, that of dueling with Sen. Hugh Scott, who isn't running for anything. Nor can Mr. Kennedy give the country a demonstration of leadership in his own party, for in the present circumstances, the Southern contingent will not be led. In the skirmishing on the minimum pay bill he regularly lost 16 to 19 Democratic votes, almost all of them from the South; the final Kennedy "victory," raising the hourly wage step by step to $1.25 and extending its coverage to four million more workers was provided for him by 15 Republicans. Without them, the bill would have been defeated, and it might still be sabotaged by the House Rules Committee. And the probability is great that this embarrasing and completely unrewarding experience will have been repeated by the time the special session completes the record on another issue on which Senator Kennedy has committed his prestige: medical insurance for the aged financed largely through the social security system. The prospects for passage of anything closely resembling the original Kennedy proposal seem dim.

Kennedy's performance in the Senate in this short session is hardly relevant to his capabilities in the White House, but voters are not necessarily going to make fine distinctions and are going to count ineffectiveness as ineffectiveness, whether compulsory or not. Nor perhaps will most of the electorate appreciate that two vital ingredients are missing from this session which only the electorate in a Presidential year can supply: a President who works *for* rather than *against* progressive legislation; and a dependable working majority of liberal-minded legislators, especially in the

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House. Without these, the required initiative and follow-through from the White House are absent; and the scratch-my-back-I'll scratch-yours arrangement between anti-civil rights Southerners and conservative Republicans remains a constant impediment, helping to preserve the conservatives' grip on key committees through an unrepresentative seniority system and archaic Congressional rules.

For future reference, attention may well be given to a doctrine which is trying to fight its way into the political manuals, espoused by such opposites as Lyndon Johnson and Spessard Holland. It is that party platforms are made for submission to referendum in the November election. It is to the tactical advantage of the Republicans to insist that the Democrats are obliged to make good on their promises in the next few weeks, because it has been the Democrats, in 1948 and now in 1960, who have engineered this foolishness of a special session. But that tactical position does not affect the soundness of the doctrine of platform-referendum-mandate, which, if accepted, would avoid a repetition of what is happening now.

And what is happening is quite simple. Lyndon Johnson and Everett Dirksen have got together as veteran parliamentary leaders, and have agreed on a relatively small helping of work which can be done. It falls into two categories. One includes the passage of indispensable appropriations bills. The second category includes matters which can be settled, one way or another, in the time available: the minimum wage bill and the medical insurance bill are examples. Beyond that, everything is political acrobatics, which Mr. Johnson and Mr. Dirksen no doubt view as entertainment not seriously interfering with their main purpose. In their hearts, Mr. Kennedy and Mr. Nixon long for the open road, and who can blame them? Mr. Eisenhower to the contrary notwithstanding, a coast-to-coast slugging match is a much more valuable part of "the nation's business" right now than arguing in Washington over the ingredients of a small legislative stew.

Equality – Bit by Bit

Real progress toward public school integration may be looked for in Delaware under a recent speed-up ruling of the US Court of Appeals for the Third Circuit, and in at least Virginia, North Carolina and Tennessee, there will be further token steps this fall – a handful of children here, a handful there. There may be some complications for Houston, Texas, but more than token compliance is in sight there. In Louisiana, Governor Davis may be modelling his conduct on defiant Governor Faubus of Arkansas, but the point is that there is token integration even in Arkansas, and more is coming. Governor Davis has pledged to keep his schools open and segregated, despite federal court orders, and a crisis of sorts is therefore likely in Louisiana in September. Fortunately, the judge whose decree is in question is one of the strongest and most highly regarded in the country, J. Skelly Wright of New Orleans.

Concerning voting rights in the South, the Supreme Court this spring validated the investigating authority of the Civil Rights Commission and the litigating authority of the Attorney General, under the Civil Rights Act of 1957 and 1960. So far, the Attorney General has used his authority with exceedingly deliberate speed, though one is led to expect Mr. Rogers to be a bit more on the *qui vive* this political fall.

Meanwhile, in the jurisdiction of none other than Nelson Rockefeller, a Puerto Rican citizen has been suing for the right to vote, which New York, in common with twelve other states of which only three are Southern, denies him because he is literate only in Spanish. The statute under which the deprivation takes place was a product of the Red hysteria that followed World War I. As certainly as such things can be asserted, the statute is constitutional, and litigation will do no good. Not all backward policies are curable in court. But it would behoove New York liberals, not excluding Governor Rockefeller and Senators Javits and Keating, to use their influence and abundant energies to obtain the repeal of this bit of disenfranchisement at the hands of the New York legislature.

Recession Ahead?

With auto inventories still well in excess of a million and disappointing early August car sales, *The Wall Street Journal* last week found Detroit executives beginning to worry. At the same time, steel executives grow more pessimistic as week after week a discernible pickup in new orders for steel fails to materialize. The steel industry, working at 55 percent capacity, is now predicting an operating rate during the fourth quarter of only 70 percent. A month ago steel executives expected to reach this rate by the end of August.

The auto-steel picture may reflect microcosmically the way in which production generally during the year to date has been maintained at a level higher than warranted by consumption, with the result that heavy inventories have accumulated at all levels. During the first half of 1960 business inventories rose at the annual rate of $8.7 billion which obviously cannot be maintained. Sooner or later production will have to be geared to new orders which, as in the case of steel, have been disappointing this summer. Even retail sales which were 2 percent ahead of 1959 during the first half of this year slipped in July to a three-month low.

How the auto industry liquidates the unprecedented million-car inventory as it goes into the production of

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1961 models bears careful watching. The steel industry depends upon Detroit to take off more than 20 percent of its production; its resurgence is heavily dependent on auto sales. If steel production fails to exceed 65 percent of capacity by October it may be a sign that the auto-steel sector of the economy is in real trouble.

Other important bellwethers of the economy in the coming months are housing starts and construction contract awards on which the future production of such industries as household appliances, lumber, cement and other building materials depend. Housing starts are 20 percent below a year ago with little indication of future improvements. In July they slumped another 10 percent from June and 26 percent below July, 1959. Construction contract awards are down about 6 percent and declining further.

The consumer is manifestly the key to the level of production that the economy will be able to maintain in the coming months. While his personal income is at the highest level ever attained, the marginal factor in personal consumption expenditures is the rate at which the consumer is willing to go into debt. During 1959, consumer credit rose to $6.5 billion – the highest figure for any year to date. The rise during the first half of 1960 has been less than $2 billion.

Afterthoughts on Powers

How important it is that intelligence as an instrument of security be ruled by intelligence as a function of mind! How important it is – and how difficult too – to keep the faculties of criticism in working order under the pressures of cold war! How great is the danger of a disposition to hold with the official version of things until truth becomes indistinguishable from propaganda! These were our main thoughts as we scanned what TV and the papers brought us concerning the trial and conviction in Moscow of the luckless U-2 pilot and the reactions here at home.

We do not share the chagrin that some have expressed over Francis Gary Powers' failure to strike a pose of defiance, issuing the rhetoric of a Nathan Hale or a Patrick Henry and challenging prosecutor and judges to do their worst. A gesture of seeking, accepting, and glorifying death for one's country may come naturally enough when fate has closed off alternatives or when a gain can be scored by noble utterance. In Powers' case, his principals had already in effect confessed judgment for him. Nothing could have been gained – not even a little bit of restored luster for those who had originated the ill-conceived venture of overflying Soviet territory with U-2 planes.

The account he gave was straightforward and credible. The fears to which he admitted as he recalled setting out on his May Day venture were understandable and did him no discredit. One might as well acknowledge that the Soviet authorities gave no sign of bearing down on him in a way to deprive him of respect and that the sentence imposed was as light as could be expected in view of all the circumstances. It is hard to imagine that our own authorities would show greater leniency in a parallel case. The expression of shock over the alleged excessiveness of punishment in this instance seemed to reflect habit more than inner conviction and can only serve to weaken the force of our complaints in cases where shocked reaction is more fitting.

Powers stuck to his story. His plane was "hit by something" at 68,000 feet. He could not know and would not say what that something was, but he was certain of the altitude.

Apparently he had not heard of the neat hypotheses built up by experts presumably in his own agency and spread so persistently and widely that they seemed as firm as facts and were accepted as such. Intelligence had garnered no evidence of a Russian capability to strike down a plane at such an altitude. Never mind that our own improved Nikes had been demonstrating effectiveness against targets at even higher altitudes. Somehow our own wished-for superiority in such matters was to be taken for truth; and what our intelligence had not uncovered must be supposed not even to exist. On the basis of these twin errors of analysis, suppositions had been hardened into asurances. These had been conveyed to Powers. They were believed by their originators. They help to account for Washington's unconcern for possible repercussions attending the planning and launching of the U-2 mission.

Obviously an explanation had to be fashioned when things turned out as they did. Could it be that the flight had come a cropper because the underlying assumptions were just plain wrong? No. Not at all. That was so unlikely as to be beyond the range of probability. It must have been due to other circumstances – undoubtedly a flameout, which had forced a descent to a point within range of Russian anti-aircraft capabilities as credited by our intelligence. We heard this version so often, pressed with such authoritativeness, that we came to forget its suppositious character. We told ourselves by turns that it could be true, that it was probably true, that it must be so, and finally that it was so.

Now the fine rationalization built up far from the scene in order to save everything that was already lost has been, we think, adequately disposed of by the testimony of the man on the spot. Until something comes along to convince us otherwise, we shall have to set all this down as another instance of complacency carried to a systematic extreme – another example of the persistent and foolish business of underestimating an adversary and overestimating ourselves.

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THE ASCENDANCY OF WILLY BRANDT

End of the Adenauer Era?

Bonn

One of the most significant events in post-war German political history took place several weeks ago and passed – for reasons which will be explained – almost unnoticed. The executive of the Social Democratic Party of Western Germany confirmed the choice of the Lord Mayor of West Berlin, Willy Brandt, as the party's candidate for the Chancellorship at next year's Federal election. This decision opens the road to a big Social Democratic advance, to the possibility of the Social Democratic Party's winning more votes than its Christian Democratic rival – in fact, to the end of the 12-year "Adenauer era."

There were reasons why the decision of the party executive was deliberately played down and so attracted far less attention than it deserved. Party leaders want the rank and file to get used, gradually, to the idea of Willy Brandt as a future Chancellor. A year ago he was a rank outsider for the party nomination. He has been little known by party members, by reason of his comparative isolation in Berlin. He has been little liked by the left-wingers, the pacifists, the ideologists and the compact party caucus in Bonn. Strictly speaking, even after the meeting of the executive, Brandt's candidacy was still to be settled. The question is to come before a special party meeting on August 24 and the party congress opening on November 21 in Hanover. Finally, Brandt has not made up his mind whether to accept. His conscience may call upon him to remain at his post in beleaguered Berlin; his tactical sense may suggest that it would be better for him to wait until 1965 and not to risk defeat next year by a hitherto unbeatable Adenauer.

Yet it seems inconceivable that Brandt will refuse the nomination – especially after his biggest hurdle, distrust of him within the party executive, has been neatly removed. He has ceased his protestations that his place is in Berlin as long as the threat of Soviet and East German pressure on Berlin remains. He has made his peace with Herbert Wehner, the powerful Deputy Chairman of the Social Democratic Party who now controls its internal organization, its electoral plan of campaign and its publicity. He is ready to step into the place left empty when the Party Chairman, Erich Ollenhauer, announced last year that he would not consider himself a candidate for the Chancellorship.

If the Social Democrats can take a million votes away from the Christian Democrats in 1961, they have, for the first time since the Federal Republic came into existence in 1949, a good chance of being able to form a coalition Government in Bonn. It is a big "if." The party has to be better managed than in the past; it has to be "non-ideological," middle-of-the-road but progressive, in order to pick up a section of the middle-class vote; it has to be solidly for the Western Alliance in order to satisfy the desire of the German people for security. It has, finally, to be led by a man of character and popular appeal, for the Germans still demand a "leader."

The first prerequisite is being supplied by the triumvirate of Ollenhauer, Wehner and the second Deputy-Chairman, Waldemar von Knoeringen. All three have renounced future cabinet rank in order to devote themselves to the affairs of the party. The second prerequisite is also being supplied. The mask of Marxist ideology was dropped at the party's Godesberg congress earlier this year, when a mild program was approved. The third prerequisite – loyalty to NATO – was forthcoming the moment Khrushchev wrecked the summit talks in Paris. Wehner at once proposed "all-party solidarity" over foreign policy and the formation of the united front which could search for a solution of the German problem and carry the greatest possible weight with the outside world. What matter if Adenauer cold-shouldered Wehner's proposals? This may win him a temporary tactical advantage. But Wehner's initiative is logical; moreover it has the support of the Free Democratic Party, and the Free Democratic vote may be sufficient in 1961 to put a new Chancellor into the place now held by Adenauer.

Finally, as for a man of real personality, proven efficiency and political moderation to lead the party in next year's electoral campaign, Brandt has all the necessary qualifications. His tenure as mayor of West Berlin has focused public attention on him, and he has displayed resolution and common sense in office He stands towards the right of the party, but he enjoys excellent relations with the trade unions. He is young – only 46 – and immensely vigorous. He has a winning smile, and a wife with both good looks and charm. He has tirelessly represented the interests of the workingman, but the middle-classes could not dimly visualize him as an ogre of nationalization, state control or class war. He is, in addition, well-known and liked abroad and his community of thought with the British and Americans would offset the "French line" of three Adenauer administrations. Terence Prittie

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Ducking and Dodging

There's a lie out, and *I* didn't tell it.

In the dark backward and abysm of time when I was a boy, that was the formula used by a disinterested observer to comment on an obviously preposterous situation. It is, I think, peculiarly applicable to the so-called campaign for the Presidency now agitating the country; for the preoccupation of both major candidates seems to be establishment of the more plausible claim to the same set of principles. It follows that the issue to be decided by the voters in November is the issue that Little Nell faced in *The Old Curiosity Shop*, namely, to decide how much truth there is in the claim that "Codlin's the friend, not Short."

The Democratic claim that Kennedy's the friend, not Nixon, might be accepted, but for the fact that the Republicans put it the other way around. Since both statements cannot be true, it is evident that there's a lie out somewhere, and the hypothetical constant reader of this page will readily agree, I think, that *I* didn't tell it. In mid-August, I can't even tell who did; the data are too fragmentary to serve as the basis of firm opinion.

But this is no indication whatever that a decision will remain impossible. From the liberal standpoint both acceptance speeches were substantially correct and neither candidate thus far has done anything glaringly inconsistent with the speeches. However, there is a long, hard grind ahead; and it is possible that a month hence, little, if any doubt will remain.

Shrewd observers will give close attention to what the candidates do not say, for silence is often more significant than speech in a Presidential campaign. The world is in turmoil and the intellectual realm is, if possible, more chaotic than the physical. In such circumstances the good second-rater rightly places an immense value upon the virtue of prudence. The difference between him and the first-rater is that the latter knows exactly the point at which the value placed on prudence becomes too great.

In ordinary circumstances there is sound philosophy in Keith Preston's elegaic lines,

> There lies beneath this mossy stone
> A politician who
> Touched a live issue without gloves,
> And never did come to;

but the circumstances this year are not ordinary. There are live issues that must be touched and handled without gloves by any politician who aspires to rise to the first rank.

Mr. Kennedy made a great impression by seizing the religious issue boldly, and it may indicate that he is cast in the heroic mould; but it may indicate only that he is a great deal smarter than some of his advisers. He knew that thing was going to get into the campaign, furtively if not openly, and to meet it head-on was less dangerous than to duck and dodge.

Nevertheless, he did meet it, and if he crashes into one or two more issues that give the second-raters goose-flesh, he will make the grade. But he has not made it yet.

Mr. Nixon's problem is concerned with his secular faith, but it is essentially similar. Mr. Nixon is a convert to liberalism, and with regard to a convert there is always the question, will he be a Backslider? After all, for 20 years it was liberalism that had control of the loaves and fishes, which is reason enough for an ambitious young man to look upon it with favor. He does not lack energy and he has developed tremendous political skill. If his conversion is so complete that he can endure the heat of a long working day, he should be a valuable man. But he, too, has not made it yet.

The disturbing thought is that neither man may measure up, in which case the campaign would be diverted from things that really matter to be fought on nonsense, largely vicious nonsense – religious bigotry, racial prejudice, appeals to avarice, and hypocritical appeals to ancient stereotypes.

That kind of campaign we cannot afford. Nor is it critical for ourselves alone. The United States stands today as the great exponent of democracy, and what it does will be regarded as typical of democracy. A campaign of a type that would disgust every intelligent man in Europe, Asia and Africa would be an appalling betrayal of the democratic theory. If we prove incapable of centering attention upon the real and tremendous problems that we face, we shall convince a great part of the world that incurable triviality will inevitably doom every serious effort at self-government.

Kennedy and Nixon are both superb politicians, a quality not inconsistent with top-flight statesmanship, but not identical with it. A great statesman is invariably a good politician, but a good politician is not necessarily a statesman at all.

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For A New Policy Toward Russia

by Louis J. Halle

Living as we do on the daily newspaper fare, with its hot headlines, we lose the long view of world affairs. We move from alarm to alarm, tending in any crisis to be more alert than prepared. For, while alertness is instantaneous and instinctive, real preparation requires time and thought.

The new administration that takes office in January will be concerned to make policy in terms of the long view. One who finds himself stationed on a remote Alp, surrounded by the eternal peaks with their everlasting snow, may perhaps be allowed to offer some suggestions for its line of thinking.

The chief thing about the Soviet Union today, however the passing crises may disguise it, is that it is becoming a *status-quo* power. It is becoming a power, like the United States and Great Britain, with a vested interest in the orderliness of a world in which it has begun to prosper. It is like a man who, after a chaotic and irresponsible youth, has established a way of life for himself, has made heavy and promising investments, and has children ready for college. What he cares about is security.

Probably the Soviet Union has not adjusted itself well to this new position as yet. It feels itself bound to an antiquated ideological mission that, while increasingly unrealistic, represents its inalienable cultural heritage. Twinges of conscience remind it of the vows taken in its revolutionary youth to set the world on fire. It remembers its pledges to have no relations with the infidel except those of total conflict, to devote itself by every possible device and tactic to hastening the day of his downfall. So it feels itself compelled to demonstrate, repeatedly, that its zeal is not flagging.

I remember a classmate of my school-days, a Southerner, who vowed that when he grew up he would lead a movement to reopen the Civil War and reverse its outcome. While he failed to fulfill his vow, the impulse to do so used to come upon him repeatedly until he was well along in his thirties; and I suspect that, to the end of his days, he will nourish in the secret places of his heart such a sense of guilt as occasionally afflicts all who have betrayed the foolish pledges of their youth.

In the same way, whenever an uprising against foreign domination takes place anywhere in the world, we Americans remember the legend of 1776 and, despite the maturity of our years and the responsibility of our commitments, feel again the wild impulse to leap to horseback. How many writers of what-we-must-do-to-be-saved books have, in recent years, called for a return to the fervent belief and promise of our youth, to the Spirit of Seventy-six! No doubt a like psychology will manifest itself in Russia for decades to come. When it does, we must expect strong words from Moscow, and sometimes dangerous deeds.

This must be reinforced by the uneasy comradeship of Russia's still youthful Chinese ally, which is constantly reminding it, with stern indignation, of the Spirit of Lenin and the pledges taken in his day.

I submit that this hypothesis – which is, as every hypothesis must be, speculative – explains better than any other the real or apparent vacillations in Moscow's policy toward the West and toward China. It has its element of hopefulness, but the hope is chiefly long-range and does not belie the prospect that, for some time to come, we shall continue to live in mortal danger.

What danger?

The danger is of action by Moscow, animated by belated impulses of ideological orthodoxy, but set off by some provocation from our side that bears on its obsession with its own security. Such provocation could be the provocation of rash deeds, or it could equally well be the provocation of conspicuous weakness. A country is tempted to take action against a menace either when that menace is brandished too alarmingly or when it is associated with a weakness that seems to provide the opportunity for ending it altogether. The temptation may be irresistible where a maximum of overt menace coincides with a maximum of weakness.

The international equilibrium is one in which the nations lean heavily against one another. Russia seeks her security by pushing outward against us. This is precarious. If we are weak and give way, she will come headlong into the space we have vacated and the equilibrium may be upset.

If this is the situation, then what should our policy be?

We shall not arrive at any answer if we debate the question, as is our custom, in terms of "hard line" versus "soft line." Our policy must be a dual policy. It must be like our heraldic eagle, which grips a sheaf of arrows in one foot and a sheaf of grain in the other.

It is not a question, then, of mutually exclusive alter-

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natives, of being either "hard" or "soft" in our dealings with Russia. What we must be is strong and, at the same time, gentle – strong in our defenses, quiet and reasonable in our speech. We must, in short, be the opposite of weak and provocative: strong and conciliatory. The simplicity of such a policy (of which Theodore Roosevelt was a famous exponent) should not be confused with naïveté, for it is no less sophisticated than it is simple. In fact, its implementation requires a sophisticated discrimination between what is *strong* and what is *provocative*, a discrimination that we have failed to cultivate in the recent past.

What is the nature of this distinction?

It is *strong* to have a heavy revolver in its holster on one's hip; but it is merely *provocative* to undertake the intimidation of one's opponent by firing a toy pistol over his head. It is *strong* to have heavy bombers that, because they are hard-based, do not have to be kept loaded with hydrogen bombs, fueled, and already in the air; but it is *provocative* to fly one's war-planes along an opponent's boundaries or into his radar ranges in order to demonstrate the strength of one's purpose. (It is also provocative to order a worldwide alert of one's military forces on the eve of a summit conference.)

This is not to say that one can always make a clear choice. Some forms of strength which are provocative in themselves may be indispensable at any given time. Missile bases in Turkey and Okinawa, which have been indispensable in the past and probably still are, represent such a combination. Where this is the situation, every effort should be made to develop alternatives, however long-range the undertaking and whatever the cost.

Our position in Berlin, too, is bound to be provocative to the Russians, but our moral obligation to the people of West Berlin gives us no choice in present circumstances. Here the best hope is that both sides may come to exercise a deliberate restraint in order to avoid making a provocative situation intolerably provocative.

What applies to military policy applies no less to diplomatic policy. The diplomacy by which the British have kept themselves in Hong Kong has been as strong as the strategic situation allowed, but deliberately unprovocative. By contrast, the famous diplomatic "unleashing" of the Chinese Nationalist forces on Formosa, in 1953, was provocative without being strong. When our American delegate to the United Nations, in that same year, made a public show of refusing to shake hands with the Russian delegate, that too was provocative without being strong.

This kind of thing is typical of weak men trying to look like strong men. The classic case was that of Louis Napoleon, a weak man with an inefficient and declining military machine which he lacked the will or competence to keep up, who could not resist the temptation, in 1870, to strike a Napoleonic attitude designed to humiliate Prussia before the eyes of the world. Bismarck (a real strong man who did not need to strike attitudes) seized upon the provocation to start the war that finished off Louis Napoleon.

The late Mr. Dulles, too, was embarrassingly prone to make premature and public arrangements to have himself photographed with his foot on Russia's neck.

It is this kind of thing that explains the increasing loss of confidence by our allies in our leadership. We have been behaving in Louis-Napoleonic fashion, proclaiming the liberation of Russia's satellites, announcing our intention of seizing initiatives, "unleashing" Chiang Kai-shek, threatening massive retaliation for limited aggressions, making a show of our anti-Communism by strong words, flying our war-planes along the boundaries of the Russian air-space – but all the time neglecting the sources of our social and military strength for the sake of the quiet life and a balanced budget. Both the weakness and the positive provocation we have thus shown, at a time when Russia has been rising in strength, are now moving our allies to think of alternatives to their dangerous dependence on us.

Whoever wins the election, we shall be turning over a new leaf next January. The new administration will have occasion for remaking policy and restating it. Already the remaking and restating are taking shape in the minds of the candidates and in public debate.

The new policy that emerges will have to be clear and simple enough for us all to understand. This, to itself, should present no difficulty; for the making of foreign policy should go from the general to the particular, and its statement need be in terms of the general only. Policy is first of all a matter of simple principles, and secondarily a matter of the more complicated application to cases. The principles themselves are what the public has to pass on, and there is no reason why they should be beyond anyone's understanding.

Both candidates have now come out for a domestic policy based on the promotion of economic growth. One hopes that both will come out, as well, for a foreign policy based on the simple duality of strength and conciliation. Their advocacy of such a policy should be politically practicable. It should be popular with the voters, once adequately stated, because it embraces the two objectives all share: security, associated with strength; and peace, associated with conciliation.

The candidates, one hopes, will tell the people that there is no conflict between strength and conciliation; that they are, rather, complimentary; that they are the two essential elements of the only policy which will allow us to restrain our opponents, to hold our allies, to gain the respect of the world at large, and at last to realize the traditional hopes of our civilization.

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The Vanishing Newscast

by Saul E. Halpert

Americans who depend on radio and television to get the news of the world are being short-changed today by abbreviated, telescoped newscasts that simply do not give adequate information, by direct and indirect advertising agency controls, and by the plug-and-payola system which, if objectionable on a disc jockey show, is a crime against the public interest in a news broadcast. An irresponsible press may be deplored, but there is always the excuse that a newspaper is a private business and the publisher is free to run it as he sees fit. No such indulgence can be granted the operator of a radio or TV station transmitting its signal through the free and public air.

This is not to say that our 5,236 radio and TV stations deliberately disseminate false information. A hoax is not necessarily dependent on the outright lie; it is nonetheless deception when fashioned of the half-truth or the fact that simply is not revealed. The current evil is part omission and part distortion, and the crime is compounded by interference from ad agencies and sponsors and by the acquiescence of station managers who will go along with almost anything, as long as it will bring in revenue.

It is the explosive growth of television, siphoning off so much sponsor spending, which led to the present default by radio station owners. In the intense competition for the advertiser's dwindling dollars, the radio broadcaster sought to run his business as cheaply as possible. The predictable result was a cheapened product affecting the standards of TV as well as radio. This system has produced a form of fixed news report broadcast in virtually every American city every day.

The trend in radio broadcasting in recent years has been toward virtual elimination of the traditional 15-minute news roundup in favor of the rapid-fire five-minute headline summary. Even this five-minute period, of course, is not fully devoted to news. To begin with, five minutes on radio is only 4 minutes and 30 seconds. Subtract a minute for the commercial and at least 30 seconds for the opening and closing sponsor identification and at best a scant three minutes remain for news. This means that in many a news bureau, an editor can squeeze no more than 40 lines of typed copy into a newscast. If he tries to skim over the top 10 news stories of the hour, he can devote no more than four lines to each.

This in effect is a form of censorship, though one should add that the process of censorship, in this sense, is built into the entire news-gathering process in the decisions of the editor as to what stories he will cover and what events he will pass over. When one-third of a five-minute summary is devoted to the details of a local sex murder story, then the listener is bound to be deprived of certain other information.

Censorship exists in another sense, also, in the policy of no sponsor, no news. At many stations, if a newscast loses a sponsor, that particular broadcast is quickly dropped from the program schedule. The suggestion that a news broadcast might be carried by the station on a sustaining basis as a public service is rejected, especially by TV managements, with the argument that to a broadcaster, time is money. But whether it is headline treatment or no news at all for lack of a sponsor, the effect is to create a barrier between the public and the information it has a right to know.

At best, the theme song of the broadcaster is: keep it short and keep it moving fast. The newscaster for one local independent radio station in Hollywood remarked recently that management has told him no newscast can run longer than one minute and 15 seconds, and no more than three lines can be spent on any one story.

Over a period of years, the public has slowly and subtly been accustomed to this abbreviated fare. Indeed, its acceptance is a measure of how far we have gone along the road of modern living with its ever more frantic and hopped-up pace. Americans, it seems, don't even have time to listen to 15 minutes of news anymore; it has to be compressed into five, or three, or one minute and 15 seconds.

For this steady trend of greater and greater compression, the Associated Press – that sanctimonious old mother hen of the news business – must share major responsibility. A battle of sorts has been going on in recent years within the AP over the length of the newscasts transmitted on the AP radio wire, serving radio and TV stations across the country. By and large the small town stations and the independents in the big cities – those operating with a news and music formula and a "rip and read" policy for their news reports – demanded elimination of the 15-minute roundups in

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favor of more frequent five minute reports or headline summaries. These stations wanted something short and new to rip off the teletype machine and read every hour, or every half-hour (or perhaps after every rock 'n roll record). Some of the bigger stations and the networks held out half-heartedly for more complete reporting. In the summer of 1958, the AP in California capitulated to the speed merchants. The 15-minute roundups were abandoned and in their place the radio wire now transmits what the AP is pleased to call an "expanded five-minute summary" with a bundle of extra paragraphs supplied as a kind of supplement to the regular five-minute material. Explaining the change in November, 1958, to member stations in California, AP's Radio News Editor John Aspinwall hastened to offer assurances that "it is not the AP's disposition or intent to let the radio wire degenerate into a headline reporting service." Actual practice, however, has refuted his optimism. It is true that the network stations and some of the larger independents have continued to buy AP's regular newspaper wire along with the radio summary service and are writing their own copy giving fuller treatment to the news in at least a few time periods during the day. But the fact remains that AP's action invested the headline howlers with a kind of semi-official sanction and prestige.

Competition Downward

The listener has a logical basis for complaint when he asks: "Why is it that I heard the same show, word for word, on three different stations over a period of several hours this morning?" The explanation is that it literally was the same news out of the same can – ripped off the AP or the United Press International radio summary wire. Thus at any hour of any given day, a veritable army of announcers (who are mere readers more than news reporters) may be heard blaring the same chant into the microphones of hundreds of stations across the country. Of course it's cheaper than hiring trained news editors, but the only variation in the sound of the news is likely to be the ringing of bells, the tooting of whistles, the beeping of wireless signals and the blaring of jingles which introduce, punctuate and conclude the newscasts.

The network stations are guilty of airing their own particular brand of canned news – broadcasts that are recorded off the network line and then played back to a given area one, two or three hours late. Before the tape is played back, conscientious news editors usually make every effort to update those stories that may have changed in the intervening lapse of time. But this is sometimes a technically difficult and nerve-jangling process, and often only the major changes are made. This practice is another that is dictated by the sponsor, who may want his show aired at the same clock time in all of the country's time zones.

Such an operation might be excused on the plea of practical economy, were it not for the element of deliberate deceit that is involved. The broadcasters make much of the fact that they can bring the public the news "as it happens" without the time-consuming lag of a newspaper that must go through the cumbersome printing and distribution process. Until several years ago, recorded broadcasts of all types were preceded by a live courtesy announcement that they were "transcribed." When that simple announcement was dropped, the public was inevitably led to believe that a tape three hours old was news "as it happens."

The standards of news broadcasting have been further eroded by a form of application of a law that college freshmen learn in Econ 1A: that bad money drives out the good. In this case, it is the sleazier operators who have driven responsible managements to adopt their methods in the competition for the sponsor's dollar.

The treatment of crime news is a case in point. Ten years ago, most responsible radio news editors played down or omitted reporting of lurid crimes featuring sex and violence. They did so on the theory that if newspaper publishers depended on such fare to sell papers, that was their business, but radio had a higher responsibility.

One major element of this reasoning concerned the effect on children. If a newspaper with a front-page story headlining a sensational sex crime is brought into the home, the radio editors said, the parents have the controlling option of letting their children read it or removing it from their presence. But when the radio is turned on, the listener has no way of knowing what story is going to come out of the speaker next. Rather, he has a right to expect that everything he or his children hear will be in good taste.

Today, however, the radio and TV news broadcasters compete avidly with the newspapers for the sensational headline story; all the lurid details are included in the newscast. A newscaster for a local independent station said to have one of the highest audience ratings of the 19 radio stations in the Los Angeles market once confided privately to a competitor: "We'd like to be able to open every newscast with a story in which we could use the words 'rape', 'woman's underclothing', and 'attractive blonde'. That way you really hook your listeners!"

Since this, by commercial standards, is a successful formula, it becomes the basis for competition in today's broadcasting market – competition not upward but downward, pandering to the lowest level of presumed public taste. News editors are reminded repeatedly by station management that K—— up the street is popular and profitable, and the inference is clear.

This sickened atmosphere is highly contagious and

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soon the independents no longer stand alone as purveyors of poor taste. On one network station in Los Angeles recently, every single one of the five stories covered in a five-minute newscast devoted to local news dealt with murder, sex crimes and other assorted forms of mayhem and violence.

There is a widely accepted myth that somehow broadcast news reporting is more honest and dependable than the newspapers. The public by and large concedes the fact that most newspapers favor one or another of our two major political parties (mostly one), that publishers tend to be kind to their advertisers and that sometimes this bias is reflected in the news columns. But broadcast news is somehow presumed to be fair and objective. The fact of the matter is that the advertiser often throws more weight around in the news bureau of a radio or TV station than in the city room of a newspaper. Sometimes the advertiser or his representative is actually physically present – writing the news.

A system of contracting out the preparation of radio and TV newscasts to advertising agencies handling the sponsor's account has been practiced by more than one broadcaster. In one form of this operation at some stations in Hollywood, the writer preparing the script for the news broadcast is actually an employee of the agency, not of the station. In another variation of this formula, the agency may hire a free-lance announcer to read the news and he in turn engages a personal writer to prepare the script. In either case, the writer's primary allegiance and responsibility are to the agency and the sponsor, not to the station which holds the license of the Federal Communications Commission.

The potential for mischief in such a situation is obvious. An advertising agency ordinarily handles not one but many accounts. It is a simple matter for the agency to direct its writer preparing a newscast for sponsor X to put in a plug for advertiser Y and a story favorable to sponsor Z, whose accounts the agency also carries. It is not only possible, it has happened more than once!

Given this cozy arrangement, what happens to public responsibility? The station management pleads that only by letting the agency handle the show can it get the business. But it is the station, not the agency, that is obligated through its FCC license to serve the public. If the licensee does not control the news broadcast and the agency is responsible only to the sponsor, then it would appear that it is really the sovereign people of the United States who are getting the business.

At the operational level of management, the broadcasting scandal (its surface barely scratched by the Van Doren confession) seems to have made no impression at all. Executives are going about their business as usual with an air of practiced innocence, confident that the current unpleasantness will somehow just melt away now that a few disc jockeys here and there across the country have been sacrificed on the altar of moral righteousness. And through it all, sales managers are still trotting down to news departments with pleas, exhortations and directives to use certain stories because airing them will please a sponsor – or even a potential sponsor.

Look in on one station in Hollywood where the sales manager made several trips to the news bureau within the space of a few weeks during the very time that the FCC and a Congressional committee were decrying plugs and payola. While the AP teletype printer within hearing distance in an adjoining room was clacking out a story from Washington to the effect that the FCC was cracking down on plugs, the sales manager told the news editor on duty to be sure to use a certain story. It concerned a local corporation that was opening a new home office in a Los Angeles suburb; hardly an event momentous enough to be included in a fast five-minute newscast. In this case, the corporation was not even a sponsor – only a potential sponsor. A brainstorming session in the management eyrie apparently had produced the idea that using the story would persuade the corporation to buy time on the station. (It didn't.)

On another occasion, a news editor was directed to use a story about a certain sponsor who happened to be getting a minor citation from the city council – because "this fellow spends a lot of money with us." Similar instances are repeated almost daily. But it does not occur to station managers that directing their news bureau to use certain stories is in effect a form of plug-and-payola – more reprehensible, in fact, than slipping a payoff to a disc jockey, because it is carried out in an area where the public blandly assumes it is getting an objective account of the events of the day.

The Rating Jitters

Another affliction of the broadcasters, more so in TV than in radio, is the rating jitters. The TV newscast is judged on the same basis as a whodunit or a Western: is it popular, does it have a high rating? Of course, every responsible news editor wants to have as large an audience as possible for his report. But the unremitting pressure to compete for the attention of the viewing audience results in a shift of emphasis from information to showmanship for its own sake. Some of the most popular and highly-rated TV newscasters are basically actors. As performers they may have little or no ability to judge news, but they photograph well.

TV's passion for putting on a "good show" feeds on the widely-touted notion that "one picture is worth a thousand words." Because TV is essentially a visual medium, news editors often construct a newscast on a framework of the film clips and the still pictures that happen to be available. These do not necessarily cover the most important news stories of the day. One

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entertaining film clip may instead consume the space that might better be spent on a more significant story told verbally in a hundred if not a thousand words.

The overemphasis on how a show looks rather than on what it says makes many TV news editors easy prey to publicity agents with a cause or a client. When these public relations men place rolls of processed film on the editor's desk, all ready for use, it is not surprising that many of the clips find their way into the newscasts – the long-legged actress deplaning from an airliner (with the name of the airline in prominent focus) or a clutch of bathing beauties (who just happen to be promoting a swimming pool company).

The production of filmed publicity handouts now supports many a profitable full-time business. With some minimal news peg to hang the story on, the hidden sponsor gets a free plug for his product or service. Some of the nation's biggest aircraft and auto manufacturers maintain complete departments regularly producing and promoting the use of such material. TV news bureaus with film libraries must accumulate literally hundreds of free film clips of jet planes setting new speed records and rockets belching from launching pads.

In the long run, of course, the consumer pays for this promotion, for the cost is added to the price of his purchases. In the case of defense industry filmed handouts, the taxpayer foots the bill directly through government appropriations. When the Russians launch another space vehicle, one of the aircraft companies can launch a squadron of film clips into an orbit that lands them in TV news bureaus across the country. They come complete with sometimes extravagant claims about what our missiles can do.

The industry's casual attitude toward its public responsibilities was never more disgracefully demonstrated than by the manner in which the networks handled the payola waivers which many employees are calling the chastity oath. When on December 3, 1959, the FCC ordered all of the nation's radio and TV station owners to make a full financial accounting of their previous year's operations within 30 days, the action was welcomed by many working in the industry. At last, it was thought, the broadcasters would have to show whether they are running an honest business in the public interest.

Some executives of the great networks, however, proved themselves equal to the task. With enormous resourcefulness, they managed it all with their little mimeograph machines. They simply ground out thousands of copies of affidavits and distributed them to their employees – placing upon them the burden of proving that their bosses were honest.

The basic fraud of the affidavit approach to purity was particularly transparent to the employees of one Southern California station whose management had promoted a highly-organized plug system for years. The practice was to sell a strip of commercial spot announcements to a sponsor with the stipulation that in addition to the time he was paying for, his product or service would get *some kind of plug on every single show of local origination on the station schedule that week*. Thus a movie company advertising a new picture would be guaranteed that every live show broadcast by the station would provide time for interviews with actors, directors or technical personnel associated with the film to plug its showing at local theaters. This was a publicly-stated, well-advertised and widely-practiced operation embracing a variety of sponsors. Management insisted that the plugs be inserted in news broadcasts as well as on other shows. News editors invariably protested being forced to include the weekly plugs in newscasts, and usually lost.

Yet this same station management had no compunctions about requiring its employees to sign affidavits swearing they were not involved in plug or payola activities. Many were outraged, and some considered declining to sign for a number of reasons, first among them being that the oath violated the Western legal concept of the presumption of innocence. Then there was the logical impossibility of proving a negative. And finally, some news staffers felt that even though they had not profited personally from the station's plug system, they would be committing moral if not legal perjury by signing the purity affidavits. But they signed to keep their jobs.

That Straw Man, Censorship

To any suggestion that some of these practices violate the broadcasters' obligation to operate in the public interest, and that remedial action should be taken, the industry invariably replies by warning of censorship. But this is a straw man. As Whitney North Seymour, president-elect of the American Bar Association, has pointed out, the FCC now has authority to require stations to present proof they have operated in the public interest when they seek triennial license renewal.

There is a belief – mistaken as it is widespread – that the FCC requires a station to offer a certain minimum amount of news and public service programming. This is simply not so. The agency now merely asks that a licensee's over-all program schedule be well balanced. So loose is this interpretation that not once in its history of more than a quarter of a century has the FCC ever revoked or refused to renew a station's license for failing to conform to program standards. No one wants the government to place a censor in every news bureau. But it is not too much to ask that the FCC enforce and the broadcasters obey the law which says that stations must operate "in the public interest, convenience and necessity."

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Apropos of Quotation Mongering

by Abraham Brumberg

What is so deplorable about Governor Rockefeller's use of a spurious quotation from Lenin in his speech to the New York Republican Club of July 12 is not merely the spuriousness of the quotation (after all, how much research can one do on the research of one's researcher?), but the fact that it was accepted – apparently – without any suspicion whatsoever. According to the Governor (whose researcher, it later turned out, obtained the quote from Adolf A. Berle, Jr., who in turn got it from "a Swiss scholar" by name of Claude Meyer, who in turn found it in some now defunct Swiss newspaper, which in turn . . . but let us not go on any further) – according to the Governor, then, here is what "Nikolai" Lenin is supposed to have said: "Our immutable aim is, after all, world conquest. Soviet domination recognizes neither liberty nor justice. It is erected knowingly upon the annihilation of the individual will, upon unconditional submission to the work relationship as in other human relationships. We are, after all, the masters. Repression is our right. It is our duty to employ absolute severity and in accomplishment of such a task great cruelty can signify supreme merit. By employment of terror and its auxiliaries, treason, perjury, and the negation of all truth, we shall reduce humanity to a state of docile submission to our domination."

It would seem almost fatuous to point out that "world conquest" is hardly a *stated* Communist aim; that "liberty and justice" *are* stated Communist goals; and that the words "we shall reduce humanity to a state of docile submission" breathe more ferocity than even Hitler was wont to allow himself in his formal speeches. Yet if it is any consolation to the researcher who "discovered" this apocryphal passage, his is not the first and only case of what might be called "quotation mongering." Ever since Communism has become a major preoccupation of politician and publisher alike, the world has been inundated with turgid passages of nebulous origin, nonexistent quotes from nonexistent books – as well as, of course, a host of sensational books about the Soviet Union which have been proved to be elaborate if clever frauds (to mention but a few: *The Litvinov Diaries, My Uncle Joseph Stalin*, by Budu Svanidze, and the recent *Khrushchev of the Ukraine*, by one Victor Alexandrov). Washington in particular has proved to be a hotbed of this kind of material, for what Congressman in his right mind would be averse to "documenting" that Communism is out to devour us? From time to time, then, some Senator or Representative will rise and inform his colleagues that it was Lenin himself who said that "the road to Paris leads through Peking" (he never did), or that Dimitry Manuilsky, one-time head of the Comintern, in what was apparently an unguarded moment, thus gave notice of Moscow's blueprint for power: "War to the hilt between Communism and Capitalism is inevitable. Today, of course, we are not strong enough to attack. Our time will come in 20 or 30 years. To win we shall need the element of surprise. The *bourgeoisie* will have to be put to sleep. So we shall begin by launching the most spectacular peace movement on record. There will be electrifying overtures and unheard-of concessions. The capitalistic countries, stupid and decadent, will rejoice to cooperate in their own destruction. They will leap at another chance to be friends. As soon as their guard is down, we shall smash them with our clenched fists."

How foolish of old Manuilsky to give the game away so recklessly! The pity of it, however, is that the speech, notwithstanding its wide circulation (most recently in a dreary little book by Anthony Bouscaren, called *A Guide to Anti-Communist Action* – Regnery, Chicago, 1958), was never made – as countless exhausted researchers who had gone through all the relevant files in the Library of Congress will readily confirm.

It is perhaps not wholly fortuitous that the passage testifying to Lenin's appetite for "world conquest" bears a certain resemblance to a statement purportedly authored by Karl Kautsky, one of the leading theoreticians of the German Social Democratic movement and bitter opponent of Lenin. The statement is contained in a lengthy introduction to a recent edition of the *Communist Manifesto* (Regnery, 1954). According to its author, Dr. Possony, Karl Kautsky – as well as all other leaders of Marxist parties – advocated "slave labor" [sic] under socialism, as borne out by the following passage from one of Kautsky's major theoretical works, *Grundsaetze und Foderungen der Sozialdemokratie* (1892): "Socialist production is not compatible with liberty of work; that is to say, with the worker's freedom to work when or how he likes. . . . It is true that under the rule of capitalism, a worker still enjoys liberty up to a certain degree. If he does not quite like

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a factory, he can find work elsewhere. In a socialist society, all the means of production will be concentrated in the hands of the state, and the latter will be the only employer; there will be no choice. *The workman today enjoys more liberty than he will possess in a socialist society.*" [Italics added.]

What is one to make of so preposterous a statement – a statement that does not accord with *anything* we know about the actual aims and programs of the socialist parties in the 19th Century? A close scrutiny of the source of this quotation, however, soon clarifies the matter: (a) a few key sentences were left out, thus imparting to the first part of the passage a totally different and misleading meaning; and (b) the final sentence ("The workman today . . .") is nonexistent in the original. That the sentence was manufactured, and put into print, no one has thus far pointed out in any review (the "new edition", after all, is designed for classroom use!) – all of which is as much a tribute to the political astuteness of its author as to the lack of it on the part of the public.

The Kautsky quotation – as well as the other ones cited above – are essentially the obverse side of the Communist compulsion to portray its enemies in the darkest colors, and to construct a *prima facie* case for *treason* where only mild disagreement, or deviation, or personal opposition is involved. Thus it was not enough to say that Bukharin, Trotsky, Radek – or for that matter, Beria – had strayed from the "truth": they had to be turned into the most despicable villains, into "enemies of the people"; and their treasonable activities could not be of recent origin, but had to be traced back to the pre-1917 period, or to obscure events that took place during the revolution, or to the immediate post-revolutionary period (Beria, for instance, was accused of having become a "foreign agent" as far back as 1919!). To the Communists, there are no gradations of innocence or guilt. An image of its enemies must be thoroughly repugnant, thoroughly detestable. By the same token, it would seem as if the image of *our* enemy (and to some, of course, Kautsky is in the same league with Lenin and Stalin) must be similarly besmirched.

That this penchant for "beefing up" the evidence, irrespective of truth or logic, is shared even by well-meaning and respectable scholars is demonstrated by a chapter in an otherwise serious and penetrating recent book, *The Soviet Design for a World State* (Columbia University Press, 1960), by Professor Elliot R. Goodman of Brown University, with an introduction by the distinguished expert on the USSR, Philip E. Mosley. In this chapter, Professor Goodman goes to great pains to establish what is on the face of it a highly dubious proposition – namely, that Lenin was a firm believer in *individual dictatorship* not only as a temporary form of government, but as one that would come to pass with the eventual blossoming of a full "Communist society." In the author's italicized words, "*The apocalyptic vision of the orchestra of world Communism, then, amounts to a stateless totalitarian society, subject to the will of an individual dictator.*" And how does the author prove this contention? By using as his "text" an article by Lenin which, it turns out (footnotes are a dangerous thing!) does not speak about "full Communism" at all, does not refer to *political dictatorship* in the sense in which it is commonly understood, but is concerned almost exclusively with . . . the centralization of the railway-system in civil-war ridden Russia, and with the general problem of labor discipline.

Why must one be told that, according to Lenin, "in the future society the masses would continue to subordinate themselves to a dictator" if Lenin never said it – either in the article in question, or, to the best of my knowledge, anywhere else? Why must Professor Goodman ascribe a sinister meaning to Lenin's words "the exercise of dictatorial powers by individual persons" if the sentence from which this phrase is taken refers merely to the necessity of "one-man management" of the railroads? Why the unnecessary generalization about Lenin's call for "absolute and strict unity of will" if that call is prefaced by the words "from the point of view of the specific tasks of the present moment" (*i.e.*, 1918), and why talk about "full Communism" when Lenin referred only to the "transition from capitalism to socialism" which (according to good Leninist doctrine) is a far cry from the ultimate "classless society"?

More than 40 years have elapsed since the Bolsheviks seized power in Russia, and in these 40 years the Soviet Union has grown into a formidable world power, and into one of the most repressive and dangerous states in the history of mankind. As founder of an authoritarian party; as organizer of a *coup* that pretended to be a genuine revolution; as the first head of a state that sowed the seeds of Stalinist totalitarianism, Lenin surely has much to answer for. And the system which Lenin helped to bring into being surely presents enough grave threats to the security of the world, enough transparent contrasts between its claims and its practices, enough evidence of duplicity, injustice and brutality for the most exacting and factual indictments imaginable. Hasn't the time come, then, to cease the petty prevarications, elaborate embroideries and the fanciful extrapolations?

All things considered, wouldn't it be better to leave this sort of thing to the more efficient practitioners of distortion and embellishment who have the know-how, the necessary paraphernalia (Institutes of History, learned journals, and the like), the experience (*at least* 35 years of it) – *and* the need for it? My modest plea is: let us stick to the facts. Much more honest this way, much simpler, and (as the Comrades would put it) – *in the final analysis* – far more effective.

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"Very Funny...Unbelievably Tough"

by Ian Watt

I thought *Cards of Identity* "very funny and unbelievably tough," to quote Auden, when it came out in 1955; and I wanted to find out more about its author. Dennis had apparently been one of *Time's* anonymous book-reviewers since 1940; which no doubt explained why leafing through that magazine in dentists' waiting rooms had occasionally rewarded me with an unexpected sense of subliminal exposure to intelligence and wit. Before then, from 1933 onwards, Dennis had reviewed books and movies for *The New Republic*; and there was a first novel, *A Sea Change*, which had won the Anglo-American novel award in 1949.

Two Plays and a Preface:
Cards of Identity;
The Making of Moo
by Nigel Dennis
(Vanguard; $3.95).

A Sea Change was almost up to *Cards of Identity*, but it was easy to see why it hadn't been very successful over here. For one thing, Dennis' contemptuously hilarious picture of the world of New York liberal weeklies must have wrung a good many withers; and there was also a real problem of literary genre – one never quite knew what kind of a novel one was reading. Dennis treated the fatuous journalist Max Driver with his own special note of deadpan satire; but there was something much more inward and sympathetic in his treatment of the troubled adolescence of Jimmy Morgan; and at times there were other kinds of imagination at play, especially in the hallucinary intensity of young Morgan's search for his murdered friend when the war finally burst upon the Polish town of Mell.

Cards of Identity, of course, was a much more consistent work, but it was much less like an ordinary novel. In subject it was clearly allegorical – a comic fantasy on the history and methods of the psychoanalytic movement; and in form it was not a linear narrative but a set of variations on the basic theme. Dennis' unique combination of talents and interests, it seemed, didn't easily express themselves in the standard modes of fiction; and it wasn't surprising that after going back to his native England he turned to the stage, where the two plays printed here were produced with great success.

The first of them, a dramatization of *Cards of Identity*, is very much worth reading even if you know the novel. A lot has gone, especially from the case-histories; but we at least have two of the best: Dr. Bitterling's last word on traditional England's identity problem, together with an equally telling encapsulation of recent American intellectual history in the confession of the drunken ex-Communist Father Golden Orfe ("I stink therefore I am"). In other ways the dramatic form of *Cards of Identity* is an improvement. The stage demands a much greater degree of continuity in plot and characterization, and as a result Dennis' central argument stands out more clearly. The doing-over of the various local inhabitants into identities more suited to the staff of the country house which is to receive the identity experts, and the subsequent internecine struggles of the latter, make a more powerful impression: partly because there is less to distract the attention elsewhere, and partly because the action is harrowingly real.

The second play, *The Making of Moo*, is subtitled "A History of Religion in Three Acts." It's a sardonic fable about a colonial administrator who finds that his successful completion of an important dam has unwittingly killed the old tribal god Ega, and let loose destructive forces which the old religion had held in check. He can't go home to a happy retirement until he's filled the vacuum; and so, just for the good of the natives, he feels bound to create a new god, called Moo after the cows that stray distractingly into his garden. Once he's caught up in the god-making business, though, he finds that you can't do things by halves: he had originally envisaged merely a benevolent endorser of the social order, but he finds himself driven, partly by his wife and secretary, partly by the inherent logic of the situation, into more powerful appeals to primitive unreason. In the second act, two years later, we are back in a world of supernatural mumbo-jumbo, where obedience is enforced by blood sacrifice not only of heathens but of the faithful: the secretary turned choirmaster has discovered that the devil Ega can sometimes only be driven out of his charges by the last, fatal blow of his scourge. The parallel is clear; the scene is a reenactment of the history of Christianity at the end of the fourth century A.D., when the Church started to impose its orthodoxy by punishing heresy with death; more specifically, it satirizes the anti-secularism and anti-rationalism of Saint Augustine's crusade against the more reasonable doctrines of individual self-help espoused by Celestius and Pelagius.

The third act brings us up to the present. Moo has become respectable and complacent. Its founder has become "a

Summer Schedule

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hollow Patriarch sustained, like all Archbishops, by nothing but his memories, his dignity, his quiet faith in capital punishment"; and a millionaire philanthropist is in the process of donating the Fosdick playing fields to the great University of Moo. Meanwhile the founder's son, seeking something more fundamentalist and bloodthirsty, is going off to find some other religion that offers a more "superb challenge to empirical dogma."

This last act suffers from the difficulty of all allegory: dramatic excitement ebbs toward the end because we know what the end has got to be. Still, Dennis' wit and inventiveness carry it off pretty well; and the play as a whole is a formidably ambitious attempt to do for the contemporary theater what Shaw did for his – make it a place not only for entertainment but for the life of the mind. *The Making of Moo* also helps one identify some of Dennis' talents more precisely. One of the most effective of them, certainly, for the vitality of his satire, is his uncanny verbal sense of the phony and the pretentious. After *A Sea Change* the word "stature" never seemed quite the same to me; it was in *Cards of Identity* that the common target of the Angry Young Men – the "Establishment" – was baptized; while in *The Making of Moo* Dennis deals faithfully with the modish term "compassion" – "When a finger writes *that* dreaded word upon the wall, I know my brains will soon be scattered beside it."

The two plays are introduced by a preface which makes clear the intellectual consistency of Dennis' outlook in 50 pages of the most dazzling mental and verbal virtuosity. Beginning with: "The worshipping by Laplanders of large stones with eccentric shapes has so died out that today, no Epstein could excite a Lapp's devotion. The cause of this falling-away is education: God is worshipped as a solid only by backward people; once educated, the mind reaches out only for what cannot be grasped, recognizes only what cannot be seen: sophistry adores a vacuum."

It's the technique immortalized, appropriately enough, in the *mot de Saint Denis*. A devout cardinal told Madame du Deffand that St. Denis had so loved his own church that after his martyrdom he had picked up his head and walked all the six miles over there from Montmartre. She murmured: "In such cases, My Lord, it's only the first step that's difficult – *il n'y a que le premier pas qui coûte.*"

The 18th Century skeptics long ago discovered that their best weapon against the citadels of folly and superstition was a coolly outrageous literalness: and in the presence of even greater affronts to common sense and daily experience Dennis has developed a modern version of their tactics. Of course the truths and the tones – and the jokes – of reason are rather unfashionable today, but they are obviously the weapons most likely to enlighten a generation which, in Trilling's phrase, wor-

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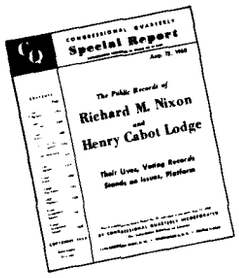

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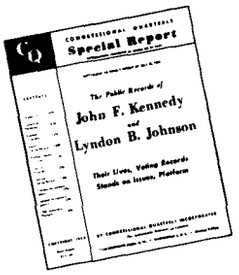

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ships "the apocalyptic subject and the charismatic style" precisely because they are so intimately adapted to an age when "Higher Criticism" of the last century has been succeeded by the Higher (and hired) Bull of this. For reasons which Dennis explains: "once the reality begins to fade, the symbol is needed to recapture it. If all barristers had brains, there would be no need for wigs." As we have less and less common ground in religion, or in tradition in general, or even in our conception of the nature of the individual, we find a growing appeal in various apocalyptic views of the psychological, religious, and social reality, views which somehow short-circuit the evidently unsatisfactory pictures of ourselves and the world which observation discloses: and this in turn offers a glorious opportunity to various professional soothsayers who – assisted by a strategic obscurity of discourse – offer to relieve the individual of the burden of understanding and of improving his real situation.

To do anything about this, the first need, and the one which incidentally does much to account for Dennis' style, is to learn from "the unpopular men and women known as 'linguistic analysts' " that "we need not fear if we resolve to speak clearly." Dennis' criticism of the Freudian movement, for example, shows how half the confusion arose from using words and symbols based on the current mechanistic images of reality; while most of the rest of the trouble came from the age-old tendency for the individual to seek a self-flattering image of himself as one set apart by his exclusive and privileged access to the Real Truth. The psychoanalysts are the lineal successors of earlier priesthoods: oracles, not of theological Grace, but of the omens of the Unconscious.

Here Dennis' argument seems to me largely true and certainly salutary. We've had enough of pseudo-Freudian gamesmanship; if the Unconscious is what it says, how come everybody knows all about it? And anyway, shouldn't we be grateful it is *un*conscious, if half the stuff one hears about it is true?

In his analysis of theological one-upmanship Dennis' chief target is the fashionable neo-Augustinianism of our time, which he links convincingly with the equally apocalyptic view of man's position on earth in other modern doctrines such as Communism and Existentialism. "Both Mr. Eliot and M. Sartre" he comments, "might expect to find their strongest supporters among housewives, who have dreamed for centuries that evil is preferable to mediocrity... Is not the doctrine of Original Sin struggling to survive . . . by cooking itself up – by becoming Artificial Sin?"

And what – positively – does it all add up to? That we should not be ashamed of common sense. That we should try to be more serious about ourselves and our world. That we should apply both to the confessional and the psychiatrist's couch the anathema which Pelagius pronounced on the irrational abdication of personal and social responsibility implied in Augustine's "Give what Thou enjoinest, and enjoin what Thou wilt." Dennis, in short, is making a timely plea for "a small shrine dedicated to the worship of Pelagius." By all means; and another to St. Dennis.

An Expressionist's Progress

by Frank J. Warnke

One of the most ironic phenomena of our ironic century has been the artistic vitality of German culture. The poetry of Rilke, George, and Hofmannsthal, the music of Berg, Hindemith, and Richard Strauss, the novels of Mann and Hesse, the plays of Brecht – all of this stands imperturbably and imperishably against the horror and destructiveness of the Nazi era.

Most of the important German artists who were active at the time of Hitler's rise to power either took a firm and eloquent stand against the Nazi corruption or held themselves coldly and contemptuously aloof from it. The one striking exception is the poet Gottfried Benn, and I suppose it is characteristic of the specifically political sensibility of our age that it seems almost impossible to comment on his impressive work without making some conjectures about the things that led him, for a few puzzling years, to go along with what his fellow-artists so clearly saw as the enemy.

Primal Vision
by Gottfried Benn
edited by E. B. Ashton
(New Directions; $4.75)

Born in 1886. Benn first appeared on the literary scene in 1912 with *Morgue*, a disturbing collection of brutally realistic short poems in which a trained and honest intelligence observed with mingled cynicism and despair the unpleasant frailty of the human flesh and the human spirit. In *Morgue*, as in the volumes which, in the 1920's, gave Benn his position as one of the leading poets of expressionism, the poet sounded an intensely original note and, at the same time, showed himself to be the conscious heir of the most significant figures in late 19th-Century literature and thought. Stressing above all the innate dichotomy of Spirit and Nature which had been central to Nietzsche's

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thinking and which had left such a profound impression on all of Thomas Mann's work, Benn nevertheless displayed that fascination with the primitive and the instinctual so common to the turn-of-the-century poets. The vision of existence which emerges from his poems and prose pieces, a generous selection of both of which is presented in this volume, has hence two aspects: one stresses man as a creature of primitive, unreasoning drives, impelled toward his untidy destinies by the blind fecundity of Nature; the other stresses man as a creator in his own right, as a mind which, in despite of nature, expresses itself in form. The two aspects are opposed in that the former implies both a belief in historical destiny and a conception of reality as something found in collective man, whereas the latter is anti-historical, nihilistic, and radically individualistic.

Benn's conception of artistic expression as the sole element of value and order in the universe had been clearly formulated by 1933, and his attacks on Communist attitudes toward art had manifested an unmistakably anti-collectivist attitude. Hence his fellow-intellectuals viewed with much surprise his decision to remain in Germany at that time and his unequivocal support of the Hitler government. Klaus Mann expressed this surprise in an eloquent and deeply moving letter to the poet; Benn's reply makes it clear that his choice was based on his desire to associate himself with "the people," with "the emergence of a new biological type, a mutation of history and a people's wish to breed itself." For all its verbal fuzziness, Benn's reply constitutes an almost incredible acceptance of both collective man and "Nature"—an acceptance assisted, as E. B. Ashton suggests in his thoughtful introduction, by something rather like patriotism.

As Mann had predicted, the Nazis did not wait very long before rejecting their strange bedfellow. By 1936 the party press was denouncing him as decadent, and Benn's correspondence and private writings of before that time indicate the depth of his own disillusionment. Although the private writings of the 1930's and '40's (first published after the end of the war) abound in savage anti-Nazi invective, Benn nowhere seems to recognize the full extent of his own ghastly misjudgment – not, I believe, through any personal dishonesty or blindness, but rather because, quite simply, he advanced always further in his total rejection of the idea of historical process, in his complete conviction that only the isolated gesture of the artist has worth. Those of us who still retain some vestiges of belief in politics and history might expect from him some recognition of error; he himself could only return to his work, convinced that everything outside it was chaos.

And perhaps we should expect no more. For the poems and many of the essays Benn wrote in the 1940's ring with the full honesty and strength of his earlier work; they express, with an even greater degree of formal excellence, the same sense of individual self-recognition. Of course the Nazis had to reject the work of this man! Any totalitarian government would, for, like the greater part of all significant modern art, it is wholly negative as far as any of the things held in reverence by governments and institutions are concerned. Ever since the fragmentation of modern culture in the course of the 19th Century, our poets have been outsiders and nay-sayers – those with talent, lonely, driven, and unhappy men; those without talent, beatniks before, during, or after the fact. The primary virtue of the poet is honesty, and poets who are honest, in the world we have inherited, bring their own isolation on themselves. If they do not, they become Carl Sandburg, or, at best, Tennyson. The true poets, things being as they are, can no longer present us with a celebration of our official values; they can only in their lonely labor, forge a vision in terms of which we may test, modify, or revise our values. Governments, by definition, don't respond warmly to this sort of thing, and, if the government conceives of itself as total, the poet's destiny is liable to be that of Benn – or of Mayakovsky or Pasternak.

Whatever his folly at the moment of crucial decision when he was too weak to support his own isolation, whatever the murky confusions of his quasi-philosophical writings, Benn executed, throughout his lonely life, the poetic function – he wrote poetry. Sometimes it appears in his prose, as in the sublime "Pallas" section of *World of Expression*, in which he evokes the goddess

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who stands for man's capacity for transcending Nature. More frequently it blazes out in his lyrics, from the lovely song of 1913 beginning "O dass wir unsere Ururahnen waren" to the late "Einsamer nie als im August." (One of the virtues of *Primal Vision* is that it offers the verse selections both in the original and in metrical translations by various hands.) Rainer Maria Rilke's *Sonnets to Orpheus* close with an exhortation:

To the still earth say: I flow.
To the rapid water speak: I am.

In his poetry Gottfried Benn has fulfilled the greater poet's injunction. For this he will be remembered.

MOVIES

Several Sons, Several Lovers

A few weeks ago we were grateful because the film of *Elmer Gantry* was so remote from Lewis' novel, which is anyway of little importance, that the question of fidelity to the original was irrelevant. But with the film of *Sons and Lovers* the question does arise, and in more urgent form: for whom are the films of fine novels made?

Obviously, adaptation must occur in an almost biological sense. The book must be anatomized and re-assembled so as to produce the same effect in a different medium; to the degree that this second life is achieved, the adaptation is successful. But for whom is it done? Those who care for the novel can rarely be fully satisfied. The primary matter of time prevents it; other considerations aside, it would take many hours to get on the screen the full range of even an average-length novel. And to those who don't know or care about the book, the film is frequently unsatisfactory in a different way; for the screenwriters are to some degree hobbled by the book and cannot follow their best cinematic instincts.

Sons and Lovers (20th Century-Fox)
Psycho (Paramount)

The Lawrence film is an example of the latter dilemma. Gavin Lambert and T. E. B. Clarke have tried to bring cinematic order out of the life-like novelistic sprawling growth of the book, re-arranging, condensing, expanding with a minimum of prettifying. (Mrs. Morel's cancer does, however, become heart trouble.) But throughout you seem to hear the screenwriters saying: "If only we could let go. If only we weren't bound by this book or by reasonable extrapolations from it. What a *film* we could make of these materials, instead of a series of illustrated scenes from a novel."

A rule of thumb can be induced. If we exclude trash, then the farther down the scale from greatness towards competence that our original novel lies, the more likely it is to be successfully adapted for the screen; for it is less likely to be dependent on its original form for its effect. (Margaret Kennedy says: "In a great work of art the medium is so wedded to the subject that it becomes impossible to think of them apart. To take the *writing* out of a great novel is to run the risk of emptying out the baby with the bath.")

What then can be said about the present film? The best one can promise those who like the book is that they will probably not be greatly disturbed by the adaptation and will see some elements capably dramatized. Other viewers will find it an intelligently written, seriously ambitious film in which the hero seems in the middle to forget the things that bothered him at the beginning only to remember them again at the end: in which the matters he claims to have learned are not quite clear and don't seem to arise entirely out of what has happened to him.

By far the most fully realized theme in the film – a measure of both its success and failure – is the relationship between Paul's father and mother. We get a piercing sense of a life in which two people can quarrel savagely, yet still return to each other accepting the quarrels as part of their marriage – and all to the incomprehension of their son who thinks a blow taken means a blow given and that his mother ought to leave: who, for all his love of his mother, is shut out of her sexual life and cannot understand her as a woman.

Trevor Howard plays Walter Morel excellently: rock-voiced, brusque, clumsily well-meaning, a rooster gone middle-aged and drunk. Wendy Hiller, winning actress though she is, simply seems too young to be the mother of all those grown sons in that rough and trying home. And her tenderness and beauty emphasize the Oedipal relationship with Paul in the wrong way.

Mary Ure is appealing as Clara Dawes although she never really burns. Heather Sears loses her virginity again, as Miriam, in a scene handled very much like the one in *Room at theTop* where it happened the first time. Miss Sears has a certain eupeptic charm, but she is not convincing as a farmer's daughter or a religiously inhibited girl.

Dean Stockwell (the Paul) is the only American in the cast. He works hard on his accent, and plays straightforwardly and, one might say, studiously. But his voice tends to the monotonous, and he is not quite capable of conveying the wellspring of everything questing and baffled and impatient that Lawrence means this youth to be. Stockwell says somewhat more than he contrives to make us believe.

Possibly because Lawrence is John Braine's literary grandfather, Jack Cardiff has directed this film in a manner generally reminiscent of *Room at the Top*. There is the same subtly stark black-and-white photography, the same swift juxtaposition of Midlands grime with physical intimacy – as if to suggest the struggle to keep the individual cleanly passionate amidst the soot and greyness.

Sons and Lovers might also be the title of Hitchcock's new film *Psycho*, which is a suspense story dealing with a son (Anthony Perkins) and some lov-

Notes on Contributors

Ian Watt, *a critic frequently published here and in England, is now teaching at the University of Vancouver.* Frank J. Warnke *is a member of the English faculty at Yale.*

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ers (Janet Leigh, John Gavin). This time Hitchcock has put his usual close-up face-nibbling sex scene at the very beginning, (as usual, it is quite dispensable) and then goes on to pad the first half of the picture for a reason that can't be revealed without giving away the twist. The whole thing is, in fact, much too long, and the plot is full of holes. (Why, in ten years, hasn't someone from the town seen the old woman walking past the window of the house? Why does the girl's sister insist, on such brief acquaintance that the private detective has not merely run off?) Two murders and a third attempt are among the most vicious I have ever seen in films, with Hitchcock employing his considerable skill in direction and cutting and in the use of sound and music to shock us past horror-entertainment into resentment.

STANLEY KAUFFMANN

Correspondence

JFK (and LBJ) *vs.* GWJ

Sirs:

I realize that Gerald Johnson's barbed scorn is always to be approached with circumspection. Sometimes, however, he flails wildly with his barbs, rather than aims carefully, and the scorn goes ineffectually wide of the mark, as it did recently when he conceived the impending Kennedy *vs.* Nixon struggle for power as little more than a competition between two brands of calculating machines to determine which has the superior efficiency in garnering support. ("Burroughs Against IBM," August 8) What has him so excited? Surely, he is not *merely* a disaffected Stevensonian.

He does have real grievances, even if he does not state them forthrightly. Rockefeller would be fine, he assures; Stevenson, wonderful. But Kennedy and Nixon will not do at all. Why not? As for Nixon, there is no need to belabor the obvious. Why not Kennedy then? Kennedy, it seems, is a political operator who wants to win, who has organized a high-powered national machine, and who calculates every move to ensure it will produce the desired effect. Does Johnson really want to say that astute American politicians from Jefferson and Hamilton onward have not done the same thing in so far as they could with the resources at their disposal? If so, I think he is mistaken. These men did what they could with what they had; it was Jefferson, in fact, who did much to lay the organizational basis of our political parties.

The contemporary politican, however, can do more than a Jefferson or a Hamilton if he can command the necessary financial resources. The difference in his effectiveness from that of Jefferson (as opposed to his intent) may be not one of degree but of kind. It is difficult to say; but this possibility, I suggest, troubles Johnson deeply. It troubles me. At the same time, the inclination of today's politican to engage in manipulation may have been intensified. If it has – and I think it has, although once again it is a matter very difficult to determine – we would do well to remember that Jefferson, Jackson, Lincoln, and even the first Roosevelt never had to contend with an almost instantaneous public reaction to their every utterance and maneuver; they could afford to be more easygoing in their political style, as could their opponents. After all, a revolution in communications has occurred. Let us at least recognize that it has had highly significant effects on politics. Moreover, in recent decades there has been a substantial accumulation of knowledge on the functioning of the public mind – in the making of political choices as well as of consumer choices. Only the quixotic would have imagined that this knowledge would long be disregarded by politicians. Both Nixon and Kennedy have drawn on it systematically, and there is not much point to being surprised or shocked.

In view of the reaction of many liberals to Kennedy, which to my mind seems largely misconceived and to rest on a number of unexamined prejudices, I would underscore two points: First, politics, as Walter Lippmann said in 1912, "does not exist for the sake of demonstrating the superior righteousness of anybody. It is not a competition in deportment." Liberals, perhaps more than anyone else, are inclined to forget that. They have the irritating habit of conceiving politics as a way to demonstrate their own superior righteousness. The central problem of democratic politics, however, turns on the need to decide which men, which party, and which programs are best designed to advance the nation's interests and purposes; and the problem is "complicated" by the further need to gain popular approval for the men, parties, and programs which are "objectively" the best. How many more times will that truism have to be reiterated before liberals really begin to believe it and to guide their thought accordingly?

The second point is this: We have seen at Los Angeles, at Chicago, and earlier in West Virginia and Wisconsin only the beginning of the ascendancy of the political technologist and of that idolatry of political technique which might well be called "technopolatry." The "technopols" working for Kennedy and Nixon were actually anticipated in the New Deal's team of political expediters, and particularly in Thurman Arnold's development of a rationalizing "philosophy" of opportunism in *The Folklore of Capitalism*. It is therefore of the first importance that liberals begin to realize that the American political system has been evolving rapidly for some time, and that they begin to analyze the implications of "technopolatry" for the democratic process. It is not a mutation which we have been witnessing in recent months, but rather the culmination of an historical tendency inchoate within American politics for some decades. The "technopols" – executive, administrative, and legislative assistants, public relations or public information men, press secretaries, and the like – have been penetrating government, at both the federal and the state levels, in rapidly increasing numbers during the last ten years or so. The presence of their more strictly political counterparts – Kennedy's and Nixon's organization men

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– was merely made conspicuous at the national nominating conventions. Many of them have come to government straight from Ivy League campuses, which specialize in the production of the polished performer. They understand the workings of the system (or think they do), are skilled in oral and written communication, are not especially inhibited by a hypersensitivity to ethical questions, and take as their first and often their last thought what means are best calculated to achieve objectives which are handed down to them from above and which they are not in the habit of subjecting to close scrutiny. More than a few of them have accepted Thurman Arnold as their mentor. It will not do to condemn them out of hand. However portentous they might be, the American polity, at least in some measure, seems to require their presence.

It would indeed be sardonically amusing to be compelled to conclude that a supposed realist and proponent of change like Johnson has decided to "stand pat" by refusing to extend recognition to the new politics merely because he cannot remember when American politics was ever like this before. It never was really, at least not to this extent. That is just the point: as the knowledge, skills, and technical resources available to ambitious men (who are, after all, always with us) have grown, and as these men have been subjected to the powerful constraint of immediate and pervasive public reaction to their behavior, the manipulative ethic has become endemic to advanced democratic political systems like that of the United States. Let liberals understand the emergent phenomenon first and then denounce it – if denunciation still seems appropriate.

John Bucholtz
Princeton, N. J.

Sirs:

Gerald W. Johnson's recent column, "Burroughs Against IBM," seems to go far beyond common sense despite its attempts to discover political parallels with the 1840's. According to Mr. Johnson the eventual winner in the November election is to be a John Tyler (who was elected, of course, as Vice President). What relevancy or validity, if any, this thought may have for the current situation must in my view, be confined to an unintended reflection on the health of the candidates for election to the Presidency.

Also according to Johnson, the Democratic Convention (together with the Republican, on which I do not intend to comment here) was "as phony as a $3 bill." Funny, the way I saw it that massive Kennedy vote was painfully (from Mr. Johnson's viewpoint) real. Whatever counterfeiting was being carried on by whatever parties assumed less than normal significance in light of the clear and free consensus for Kennedy.

Perhaps Mr. Johnson would be kind enough now to pursue for us his rather imaginative parallel between Barry Goldwater and Adlai Stevenson and show how Adlai Stevenson now or ever had a "line" any more "definite, comprehensible and consistent" than that of Kennedy. But, before undertaking this assignment, he ought to ask Mr. Stevenson, since I am not sure that Stevenson would consider himself flattered by the suggestion that he had a "line" (nor, for that matter, might he take kindly to being relegated to heroic discard with such as Goldwater.)

Richard D. Cudahy
Northfield, Ill.

Sirs:

Congratulations to Gerald W. Johnson for showing up – in his "Burroughs Against IBM" article – a widely prevalent piece of wishful thinking. This is the notion that all will be well with us, if Kennedy becomes President, because Adlai Stevenson will be in the Cabinet. As an ignis fatuus, this deserves a place next to the famous will-o'-the-wisp of eight years ago – to wit, the idea that all the portents were good, because Eisenhower was going to grow in office.

Margaret Halsey
White Plains, N. Y.

Federal Aid to Art

Sirs:

I read with great interest the excellent article by Frank Getlein on Federal aid to art (August 8). Many of us in the art world will agree heartily on every aspect Mr. Getlein mentions.

As the director of the Downtown Gallery for 34 years and generally active in the American field, I have had a

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great deal of experience with all the elements mentioned – most recently as curator of the art section at the American National Exhibition in Moscow last summer, involving a controversy with the President about the inclusion of a painting by Jack Levine.

The most significant point which I wish to select is in relation to the WPA program of the thirties, followed subsequently by the purchase of a collection of paintings by American artists selected and paid for by the State Department. These were for exhibitions abroad. This seems like ancient history, but I have in my possession a complete report of the purchases and the original prices. I might quote from a talk I gave on May 4, 1947: "Out of an appropriation of $19 million to the office of International Information and Cultural Affairs, about one-fourth of one percent – the paltry sum of $49,000 was spent on 79 paintings by American contemporaries." The exhibition was recalled by the State Department from Czechoslovakia after a very enthusiastic reception elsewhere because Mr. Hearst and several Congressmen attacked the collection as Communist art. These were sold by the State Department subsequently at auction to tax supported institutions at 10 cents on the dollar – based on the bids.

I have before me the original purchase prices of some items. For instance, paintings by Stuart Davis, Dove, Hartley, Yasuo Kuniyoshi, Jack Levine, Georgia O'Keeffe, Ben Shahn and Charles Sheeler, among others, were sold to the State Department Office of International Information and Cultural Affairs for prices ranging from $400 to $1,500. All these would be valued today, and immediately saleable, at prices at least five to ten times as much. Not a bad investment if the government had held on! To say nothing of the great propaganda value these would have had in the ensuing years throughout the world.

Edith Halpert
The Downtown Gallery
New York, N.Y.

How Poets Communicate

Sirs:

The review by Stephen Spender ("Poetry *vs.* Language Engineering," August 15) was extremely penetrating. To a real poet a poem is an attempt to communicate an ineffable experience to others in terms which will lead the listener, if he has ears to hear, to partake of the same experience. Of course "language engineering" is important, but without the inner experience technique is mere playing with words.

Allan R. Brown
Highlands, N. C.

Ethics and the Politician

Sirs:

Although *The New Republic* is blameless in the matter, the appearance of my essay on Ethics and the Politician in the August 15 *NR* was without either my permission or foreknowledge. I should therefore appreciate the use of your columns to register the following items which should have appeared in the credits given for the article; 1) that the article was originally prepared for the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion to be held in New York; 2) that the article as it appeared in *The New Republic* is an abbreviated version of the Conference essay about to be published by the Center for the Study of Democratic Institutions; 3) that the Occasional Paper was printed in advance of the Conference sessions with the special permission of the Conference on Science, Philosophy and Religion.

Stephen K. Bailey
Syracuse University

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